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KUGOME

Congress Against Soviet Intervention

1. Per Boyd I. ROLENDER's conversation with Jeremy T. MUTTING at LINCOLN, there is transmitted a draft of the call to the Congress as an attachment to this dispatch.

2. MUTTING wishes to have it emphasized that this draft is entirely rough, uncorrected and unrevised, and in no sense to be considered as his recommendation for the final product. It is left to ROLENDER's judgement whether he presents it to PRESIDENT as it is, with major or minor revisions, or not at all.

JEROME G. DUNBAR

JCH/ JTN/ sgw  
30 March 1954  
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To all men in Latin America who love their nations and their freedom with equal fervor, we issue this call to the conference against Soviet intervention in Latin America.

Why a conference against Soviet intervention in Latin America? The need for such a conference and such a movement is rooted in history, it is urgent in the present and it is indispensable to our future.

For many years now, the peoples of Latin America have fought to gain their independence from whatever domination or controls the United States of North America sought to impose upon them. We are all familiar with the relations of our countries with the United States of North America, and we are all familiar with the long, arduous process by which we have gained our measures of equality, sovereignty, independence and national dignity in the hemisphere. We are gloriously familiar with the battles we have waged and the triumphs we have won, and we may look backward with satisfaction on the gradual and hopeful ascendancy of Latin America, as well as forward to the future for ever increasing importance and vigor for our nations. This upward climb of our peoples and our nations is dear to every one of us and nothing, no force from outside and no miscalculation on our part, must be allowed to arrest it.

That is why we are summoning the men who love their nations and who love freedom to this congress against Soviet intervention in Latin America. For, in the process of our own liberation, there are elements and segments of our peoples who have decided to further this process by calling upon the methods, the political techniques and the ideological weapons of the Soviet Union to accomplish the task. In each Latin American country today, there is the great majority of the people who believe in national augmentation through their own, proper efforts; there is a second, and much smaller group, who labor under the misguided impression that assistance in Communist form and from the Soviet Union may speed the work of strengthening their nations; and, finally, there is in almost every Latin country an infinitesimally small and infinitely fanatical minority of Communists who play on both the honorable sentiments of the majority and the deluded sentiments of the second group, not in order to further the interests of the nations at all, but in order ultimately to deliver those nations over to Soviet intervention and Soviet bondage.

It is regrettable that this tiny minority of Communists should exist, because it is regrettable that all our peoples do not share the self-confidence and the belief in their own powers that encourages them to build our nations with our own means, without foreign assistance. It is unfortunate that our social systems and our national pride are not so strong as to have restrained the tiny minority of

Communists from vending their patriotic allegiance to a foreign power. But, since human beings are responsible for their actions, it is in the last analysis criminal that a small band of individuals in our countries should have so despaired of the destiny of Latin America that they have subordinated their lives and their principles to those of a foreign power, the Soviet Union. This state of affairs leaves us no choice, indeed it compels us to act against Soviet intervention in our hemisphere.

There was a time, when the designs of the Soviet Union and the meaning of Communism were not sufficiently clarified by Soviet Communist practice, that it was understandable for some members of our peoples to fall under the sway of Communist doctrine. As long as they were effectively screened from the rest of the world, and as long as they were powerless on the international scene, the Soviets were able to give an appearance of adhering in practice to some of the beneficent slogans that they distribute in their propaganda. It is not without interest to note that the United States of North America themselves were seduced, to a measurable degree, by Soviet Communist blandishments and professions of peaceful, progressive intentions. Nor is it without interest to note that some of our nations in Latin America only resumed diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union at the behest of the United States, so that, in these cases, our recognition of Communism was merely part and parcel of whatever subservience to United States wishes we still possessed. But now we are free to judge and now we have ample evidence of what Communism in harsh practice means and portends. Now we must rise and unite our voices and our actions against Soviet intervention in Latin America.

Of what use can Communism conceivably be to us? Can it assist in any way the development of our national traditions, our native customs and our local pride? Russia is a slavic country, thousands of miles away, without a trace of Latin or Spanish influence in its national or sociological or philosophical make-up. Russia represents a combination of decadent European and primitive Asian thought and practice. What has this alleged model to offer to our Hispanic and Indian civilizations?

Or do we believe that Communism offers us guides toward furthering the public welfare? The people of the Soviet Union today, man for man, are no better fed or better housed or better cared for medically than they were in the year 1913, when the Czarist government was already grievously on the decline. In the Soviet Union, the welfare of the State and of the ruling autocrats has prospered mightily, of that there can be no doubt. The factories are for war; the public buildings are for government officials; the privileges are for the new Soviet bourgeoisie. But for the people, life goes on

in poverty-stricken monotony, without hope of relief. In view of these known results of Communist practice in the Soviet Union, we cannot conceivably take Communism as a model for the public welfare in our nations.

Or do we look toward Soviet Communism for ideological inspiration? Dialectical materialism is the ideology of the icy professors turned into even icier autocrats. It is the ideology of unadorned, cold material things, without room for emotions or heart or soul or religion. And this ideology is a passing thing, well passed the end of its growth and deep already on the road to its final decline. Marxists like to forget that the dialectic extends cycles and centuries beyond them, and that Communism will find and is finding its antithesis as surely and inevitably as its predecessor philosophies did. Do we then, give ourselves over to a decaying professorial ideology, or do we develop the new thing, the answer to Communism, which Communist doctrine itself predicts will be forthcoming?

Or do we look to Soviet Communism for its meaning in the field of human dignity? This question is almost too ridiculous to be pursued, because we know what wooden automatons, what sterile stereotypes have been made of the once exuberant Russian people. We know too well the Communist conviction that every man (except, of course, the tiny ruling clique) must be debased into a proletariat, instead of being lifted up to a standard of personal dignity never hitherto attained in history.

That minority in our countries that condones Communism as a method of national advancement and that tiny minority that embraces Communism for the sake of the Soviet Union have fallen prey to an ancient and tragic error: the confusion of the means with the ends. It was understandable, at given times and at given places and under given circumstances, that a desperate and hungry people should have seized upon Communism to batter down some of the iniquities and inequities of industrial society and industrial power. As a weapon, Communism has, from time to time, served its purpose in enforcing the liberalization of capitalists and commercial economic, social and human practices. But a weapon is never, never the staff of life. A weapon may destroy--it can never build. A weapon is a temporary means--it never is and never can be an end.

Communism is a weapon only, as those who live by it well know, for they know nothing but endless battle, each struggle more sterile than the last. Communism is only a weapon, as those who misguidedly approve its use without fully embracing it, would ultimately find out when the weapon in the hands of the Communist fanatics is turned against them. Communism, by its standards, is an end and that end is intervention, intervention in every decisive and vital facet of human life in every nation.

We have before us the grisly example of fourteen Eastern European nations. In every instance, Soviet Communism marched in under the banner of liberation and freedom, and in every instance Soviet Communism has stayed under the banners of exploitation, enslavement and intervention. Who is the most powerful man in Poland? Marshall of the Soviet Union Rokozowsky, the Polish Minister of Defense and the dictator of the fate of all the Poles. Who is the most powerful man in each other Eastern European country? The Soviet Ambassador, whatever his name may be, who rules through his native minions every facet of the political economic and social life of these countries. What voice have the native Communists of these countries in national affairs? None that does not conflict with the interventionist wishes and orders of Moscow. What voice has the people of these countries in the regulation of its own affairs? Absolutely none.

This fate looms ahead of Latin America if the progress of Soviet intervention in the hemisphere is not speedily and effectively arrested and eradicated. Today there is still time, for the Soviet Communist infection, though virulent, is still relatively small. Tomorrow, it will be more difficult because the virulence spreads as long as it is not checkmated. Next year, the struggle against it may be much more difficult.

We have the majority of our peoples to encourage that they can make our nations grow by their own efforts, we have a deluded minority to dissuade that Soviet Communism can be of any service in the national progress and we have a tiny, fanatic Communist minority to repel, once and for all. We have not gained our freedom and our sovereignty and our national stature only in order to lose it to Soviet Communism and to Soviet intervention. We have not resisted and survived and thrown off partial intervention in order to succumb to the Soviet Communist system that knows and acknowledges only total intervention, in every phase of human affairs, and that is not satisfied until it has brought every human feeling and action and emotion under its despotic thumb. We have not distinguished ourselves in one combat in order to fall in another.

The record of the growth of Latin America to freedom and world importance is our best shield and our best instrument against Soviet Communist intervention. We call you to this congress against Soviet intervention in Latin America in order to smoke out the new peril and in order to throw out its protagonists. We call upon you for the protection of the people, the protection of our nations, the protection of the hemisphere and for the furtherance of growth and progress and prosperity and freedom to all the people of Latin America.

As we now call you to the congress against Soviet intervention in Latin America, so do we pledge ourselves now and in the future, to call you to battle against intervention from any quarter whatsoever. In the pursuit of general goals, we will never lose sight of

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the most pressing tasks of the hour and that task today is the destruction of Soviet intervention. It forms part of the great crusade of Latin America:

Against intervention!

For total freedom!